The Republican.

THE REPUBLICAN

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TO MR. WILLIAM COBBETT,

Editor of the Political Register, and Author of a spurious History of what is called the Protestant Reformation.

LETTER II.

Dorchester Gaol, January 7, 1825 of the Legendary Foundation of Chris-

I would not, at this time, have been the author of the two first Nos. of your History of the Protestant 'Reformation,' to have obtained all Ireland as an estate. This is your first effort at a formal piece of history, and, little as you have yet done, you have done enough to justify me in saying, that, though it may add to your pecuniary profits, it will add nothing to your credit in the way of good repute. You have already shewn yourself to be utterly unworthy to undertake a piece of set history; for, you not only do not understand the subject which you have undertaken to describe; but you pay no respect to truth, and merely seek to condense those legendary tales, which have no just authority, for a factious purpose, for the mere gratification of a sect of idolators.

My first letter contained such an exposition of the errors of your first No., as would certainly have obtained the acknowledgment of an honest historian: but, it seems, that you can blunder on and be as content to deceive as to instruct. You have published a second No., without an acknowledgment of the errors of the first, and even with a repetition of those errors! This fully justifies another exposure; for, I do not attack; but stand on my defence. If you are right, in what you have written as Christian history, I am wrong in the principles which I advocate; and, as I was advocating those principles of Antichristianity, before you began to write this history of a part of Christianity, you

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have commenced an attack upon me. I should have preferred you as a coadjutor; but, if I cannot have you as such, you are the man above all others, that I should prefer as an opponent. This, because, we both stand before the public as reformers; and, because, that, there are many good and well disposed persons still deluded about this matter of Christianity or Religion, and now still likely to be further deluded by what I will expose as your errors. I declare and I hereby prove, that, I prefer the most powerful writer in the country, as my antagonist, on this question of the value and good foundation of religion; therefore, I acknowledge to you, and to the public, that, I have felt both an eagerness and a pleasure, to enter the lists against you, on this occasion.

The enmity, which, in your Political Register, you have, for years, shewn to the "Fire-shovel Hats," or to the Clergy of the Church established by law, in particular, and to Dissenters from that Church, in general, in whatever state of mind it might have left you, has, I believe, not failed to persuade your readers, that, you are much about the same sort of Christian as I am. If this be the case, which is a matter confined to your own bosom, and if you have merely taken up the cause of the Roman Catholics for the purpose of weakening the Protestant Priesthood, you have done that

which I cannot descend to do.

If, on the other hand, you really wish, as you say, to better the condition of Irishmen in Ireland, if such be your object, and your only object, in that good disposition, I will not yield to you. I am prepared, on this head, to go much further than you have yet gone in public writing. If the people of Ireland wish for independence of the English Government, and if that independence will benefit them, I wish them to have, and will advocate, that independence, whatever may be its consequences to England. I do this upon the broad principle of human liberty, that, no one nation, that, no one human being, should be the constrained subject of another individual or nation. There is no principle associated with human happiness and good government that requires any thing of the kind. You seem to think, that, Ireland is one of England's weak sides. Upon the present just and wise disposition of Ireland to shake off the worse than Turkish tyranny of England, it may be the case; but give to Ireland her independence as an Island and a nation, and the degradation of England cannot benefit her, would be also her degradation, as the misery and degradation of

Ireland now adds to the misery and degradation of England. The hostility and tyranny towards Ireland is only continued, because, there is an ignorant, brutish, beast-of-prey-like disposition in and surrounding the men or women

who compose the English Government.

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If Ireland were independent, there would be no more danger of England's being invaded from that side, than now from France or Holland; nor is it probable, that, Independent Ireland would be a party to it, as a Republican Island would never consent to assist a monarchical invasion of a neighbouring Island from a continent. If England fell before a Continental Invader, Ireland, for a century to come, could not defend herself. But as I intend to enlarge upon this subject, in a distinct article, I will quit it here, and confine myself to the errors of your pretended history.

This spurious history is addressed, in letters, " to all sensible and just Englishmen." I flatter myself, that, even you, on reading this letter, will allow me to be one of that number, and that, I am justified even in an indignant answer and exposure. But, I am not angry, and aspire to the defence of my principles, on this occasion, with perfect calmness and confidence. I see, that, you are neither doing justice to sensible and just Englishmen, in the way of due respect for them and for yourself as a historian, nor are you doing justice to the oppressed Catholics of Ireland; for, falsehood and delusion cannot serve them. It may excite them to injure themselves and others, but can never place them in a right way to obtain emancipation from bondage. Would you honestly work towards their emancipation, teach them truths instead of errors. Would you exhibit to them the weak parts of Protestantism, or Church as by law established,—shew them the bad foundation of Christianity altogether. Would you feed them better,—shew them that religion is not a virtue, and that it may be morally and advantageously dispensed with: that the expence of a Catholic, as well as of a Protestant Priest, is alike injurious to

You begin your second No., second Letter, and 37th paragraph, with saying: "It was not a reformation, but a devastation, of England, which was, at the time when this event took place, the happiest country, perhaps that the world had ever seen:" An historian is not entitled to use the word perhaps. What he cannot assert upon good authority he should omit. And can you for a moment suppose, that the Roman Catholics of England were so happy

as the Roman Catholics of Italy, towards which the wealth of nearly all Europe and America flowed as to a centre? Do you not know, that only with the father of Henry the Eighth, a stop was put to a civil war, that had raged more or less for 30 years? Could such a people be happy among which such contentions about the two roses could exist?

Besides, it was neither a reformation nor a devastation of England; but it was both a reformation and a devastation of a Religion of England, of one kind, to set up as great an evil, for the moment, of another kind. The Church, if we give you the religious establishments connected with it, was not England, even in the time of Henry the Eighth. Clever as you are at the Grammer of our Language; you are not clever at the Grammer of History, you see, Mr. Cobbett. And, in truth, if you will condescend to read that important part of your subject in my last letter, as to how the Priests were moved forward and backward by the Holy Ghost, we can hardly justify ourselves, in saying, that it was any reformation or devastation of the Church; for what constitutes a Church but the Priesthood? The Priesthood was not reformed, not devastated; the Church retained its benefices and obtained some new ones; it benefitted, indeed, by the devastation of the religious bouses.

And blessed were they who devastated the religious houses, the Abbies, the Priories, the Friaries, the Monastries, and the Nunneries. Praised be their names. Glorified be even the vices of old Harry the last; no! not Harry Hunt! old Harry the last but one! For King Harry Hunt and his Radical Reform subjects are now all politically dead! They could neither reform themselves, nor any other persons or things. They were Christian Reformers! Humbugs!

To be on my guard against a thrust from your terrible two pronged pitch-fork, I wish to be understood, as not co-inciding with the manner in which the spoil of the religious houses was divided. It ought to have gone back to the People, from whom and from whose parents it had been taken; and I hope, that, some part of it, and that a large part, will be yet brought back to the decrease of taxation. I am not aware that the law of England allows any space of time to be sufficient to convert stolen goods into honourable property. I would pardon them had the Church been thoroughly devastated, as well as the Religious Houses. That, Mr. Cobbett, must be the next impoverishment and degradation of the people of England. We will degrade them, and leave them so poor, as not to have a Church! Come, Ar-

istocrats, join us, for this purpose, here is a fine booty: a little good service on this head may save you what you gained by the former devastation. You will, then, certainly,

kill, with vexation, your hated enemy Cobbett!

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As you make it your chief business to show, that this devastation of the religious houses impoverished and degraded the main body of the people, it hardly becomes me to anticipate what you will say. But, I can guess at your argument. You will say, that, there was once, a certain amount of property associated with the religious houses, and other property with the church, in the shape of tithes, much of which was thrown back as alms to the poor: and that, they, who shared the spoils of those houses, and the Priesthood of the newfangled Church, who still take the tithes, throw back nothing for that purpose; so that, in the reign of Elizabeth, it became necessary, to institute Poor Laws, and to enforce a maintenance of the poor by Parish Rates. Whether, or not, you can see and shew the matter in any other light, I cannot yet say; but this is a true statement of the case, as far as it goes; and so far as the Reformation produced this additional taxation, it certainly was an evil, calculated to increase the number of poor persons, and that progressively, to that climax, at which we have seen it.

But there are benefits as a set off. From the building of the first religious house in this country to the destruction of the last, not one single step was made, excepting the accident of a discovery of the art of printing, in the increase of any kind of knowledge. All was retrogression in the human mind, and the body of our boasted forefathers, were as brutish as the cattle which they fed and propagated. None could read, none could write. The little of reading and writing that did exist was confined to certain classes of monks, and they took care not to increase it. The very Bible was unknown to the Priests. They had Church Formularies and Homilies from Rome; but nothing did they know of the Bible. And here is another important hint, for an important part of your history-the Acts of Parliament and Orders of the King Harry the Eighth respecting the Bible should form an interesting part of your Reformation History. By one, you will find, that, it was HIGH TREAson to have a Bible in possession. Then, that, there was an exemption as to Noblemen, Gentlemen, &c.; but not for Next for Countesses, Ladies, &c.; but not servant women. Then for grown people; but not for apprentices and children: and so on, until, after much persecution,

a free reading of this BOOK OF MISCHIEF was tolerated! At one time, certain copies chained to certain places were alone allowed. In fact, I have made a much better progress towards a general reading of the Bible's Master, the AGE OF REASON, during the reign of Harry the ninth, than the Bible folks could make for the Bible, in the reign of Harry the Eighth. If you can get at the particulars of all this legislation and Royal decreeing about the Bible, you will do some good, to publish it. There is a little tract published by the religious tract monger in Paternoster Row, and, or, or by Nisbett of Castle Street, Oxford Street, that is really instructive upon this head, and will refer you to other authorities.

But for the devastation of these religious houses, Lord Bacon had never published his work on the advancement of learning. Locke had never made that most important mental discovery, that there were no innate ideas—a discovery, that will annihilate all Gods, and God-Books, and Godmen! Thomas Paine had never laid the foundation of universal Republicanism; and, perhaps, William Cobbett had never left the spade and plough; or, if he had, only to have been a lazy, though jolly monk, friar, prior, or abbott.

I yield the fact, that, more of poverty, more of the want of necessary food, has since existed, than did exist with these religious houses; but it will lead to much good, it will lead to the uprooting even of that evil which these houses cherished—taking the beef from the mass of the people and giving to them back the broth. That has been the principle of all religion. The Jews did it under the pretence of sacrificing to Jehovah; but the real object was to glut the Priests and their families with the best parts of animal food. The Religious houses, whose devastation you effect to deplore, carried on the same sort of sacrifices, in another way; and, they of the Jews, and, they of the Christians, our forefathers, who produced corn and cattle, had to supply the whole.

It is a public misfortune, when, a public man, of your power as a writer, is not honest; and, if you were so, you would not deplore the devastation of the religious houses, which were like iron collars about the necks of the body of the people. You, who boast of yourself, as the great enlightener of the people of England, ought to know, do know, and ought to enlighten the people with that knowledge, that, if the religious houses were rich, their riches were not the product of any kind of labour carried on in them; but, that, such an accumulation of riches must have impoverished, in the same, or, in a greater ratio, the useful and labouring part

of the community, from whom they were extracted. I cannot explain the principle of the thing better, than by repeating, that it was a taking of beef from the labouring class, and giving to them back the broth. This was the christian charity of the matter. This was the happy state of our reli-

gious forefathers with their religious houses.

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In the midst of writing the last paragraph, a piece of foreign news comes in, that is not foreign to the subject of this letter: it is an account of a wholesome devastation of the religious houses of Chili. You have lately shewn an abominably bad spirit, as to the cause and progress of these South American Revolutionists; you have even crowed, on the probability, that France and Spain would be able to reconquer every place where the standard of revolution has beeen raised: in truth, to the surprise of your readers, you have shewn the same malignant spirit towards the South American States, and of Mexico, as you shewed, when you recommenced your career, as a public writer, in abuse of the independence of the United States of North America. To me your conduct has been quite unaccountable; though, for seven years past, I have numbered among those, who have hoped for future good from you. I still do hope for future good from you; but it seems to me an important public matter, that some one should whip you out of some of your bad tricks, in good season: and this task, I will attempt. Up to the mark of honesty, you shall come, as a public political writer; or down you shall go, as soon as this "momentary excitement of the Catholics" be over. I know the power of your pen, I know your disposition when opposed; but I also know the ultimate power of truth and honesty, and these are the smooth stones of the brook, which I will put into my bag, and march forth against you, as another little David against another Goliath.

The time has come when this should be done; the time has come, when it is of the greatest importance to have a thorough knowledge of our public men; for in the midst of an apparent calm, there is a greater foreboding of a more important and eventful revolution in Europe, than has taken place within the last thirty five eventful years. What I am about to copy, the devastation of the religious houses of Chili, is an example that will assuredly be followed, until it reaches Mexico, and will also be a grand example for Spain and Portugal. Had the Spanish Constitutionalists been wise and bold enough to have done the same thing effectually, not one of them would have been now starving in En-

gland, no invasion by France, over which you have also crowed, could have shaken their power. It is a grand lesson, the best thing that has been yet done in South America: it consolidates the Republic of Chili, or prepares it to become a real Republic. It is the first serious blow at priestcraft in South America. Blessed be Freyre and Benevente. Wise must they be, who could so work with a Bishop and a Pope's Nuncio, and then immediately deprive them of power, as soon as their work was done. You will, doubtless, have read the letter, before you meet it here; but here it must follow, for the benefit of other readers; as I am not writing to you alone.

REVOLUTION AT SANTIAGO DE CHILI.

Extract of a Letter.

August 26, 1824. "There has been an unexpected revolution here. I told you how popular General Freyre had become, and gave you an outline of the absurd measures he had sanctioned. The consequence was, that he became the dupe of a fanatical party, of which the Bishop, whom the former Government had banished, but who returned just before Freyre to Santiago, was the prime mover. Freyre's Prime Minister, Benevente, a native of Conception, possessing considerable talents, and much more liberal notions than are common amongst the wisest of the Chilinos, drew to him all those who professed, or pretended to entertain similar notions, and thus strengthened, made propositions to Freyre which he immediately accepted, placed himself at the head of this party, and effected a change by far more surprising than any that has ever occurred in this country. His measures were at once so bold and decisive as completely to astound and disarm the Servile faction. Benevente retains his situation of Minister of Marine and Finance, Freyre that of nominal, or real Director; General Pinto, a man of talents, is appointed Minister of State and War. The first step General Freyre took was to annul the last new Constitution, which in practice was found to be something worse than useless. He dissolved the Council of State and the Senate, and declared himself armed with absolute power for three months, at the end of which time a Congress is to be called; in the mean time the Provincial Constitution of 1818 is to be in force. His next, but by far the boldest step, was the banishment of the Bishop, and the substitution of a man in whom he can, or thinks he can confide, in his place. He seized all the Monasterial property in the country, and ordered the whole of the monks to be banished. These are really and truly most astonishing proceedings, and yet they have been decreed without even the slightest shew of resistance. They have put an immense property into the hands of the Government. Many of the richest estates in Chili belonged to

the monasteries, a large portion of the sea-port town of Valparaiso, and still larger portion of the city of Santiago belonged to the church. These seizures, in the present distressed condition of the Exchequer, will not only furnish a large supply of money, but will for some time to come furnish abundant revenues. The poor, easy, quiet, bigotted Chilinos, crossed their breasts and foreheads, lifted up ther hands, turned up their eyes in amazement, and then sunk into their usual apathy. Freyre, and his Ministers, managed their matters with great adroitness. decrees contained the full approbation of the resident Nunció from the Pope, which at once silenced all show of opposition. The Nuncio is a Chilinos, formerly a Friar. He was selected by the late Supreme Director, O'Higgins, and sent to Rome, to make his submission as Representative of Chili, on its becoming independent, and returned home in the character of Nuncio. He has made a promise to the Monks which will never be performed, to convert them into secular Clergymen, and to give them Livings. Another no less wise measure has been adopted, in the determination to get rid of the whole of the regular or irregular army, retaining only 500 soldiers and the militia of the provinces, for the protection of the country to the southward against the indian natives. Government intend to re-organize the navy, and put it on the most respectable footing possible, that it may serve for and secure the national independence, which can be attacked in no way but by sea. The mode adopted to get rid of the army is to send it to Bolivar in Peru, as having applied for assistance in this Active preparations are now making to dispatch them. The squadron is getting ready, transports and stores are preparing, and a short time the whole of the troops will have left the country. All these extraordinary measures, so opposite to the prejudices and modes of thinking of the Chilians, have been adopted without the least shew of opposition.

"The Chilinos are certainly a very singular people, they are a most striking contrast to the people on the other side of the Cordillera. Most of the heads of the Convents acquiesced in the new decrees, without even a murmer; the few who ventured to protest against them have been put in close confinement on board the O'Higgins man-of-war, where they have already been forgotten by their supine countrymen. General Blanco has hoisted his flag on board this ship, and every thing is going forward with an

activity never before known in Chili."

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And do I rejoice at this? I do indeed. I am quite justified in having a crow at you on this occasion; you, who would have crowed if the reverse had taken place and Ferdinand reinstated in the sovereignty. You who never yet could say a good word for any thing under the name of a Republic. You, who seem to have a complete infatuation about King, Lords, and Commons, Popes, Bourbons, and

Priests, the whole of which return you nothing but contempt, with a hatred as strong or stronger than that which they feel for me. If you do not get out your present track, you will certainly not count a friend among any party in a few months time. Let this momentary excitement of the Catholics be but appeased, and you will be left as naked as general contempt can leave a man, without a more striking change in your career than you have yet made, some of which, though singular, have not been uninteresting. I am not alone in this view of your case, and though I would not allow any man to exercise an undue influence over me, nor any influence contrary to my own judgment, I will copy here, a paper, that was written and sent to me last month, before I had seen the first No. of your pretended history of the Reformation, on reading this paper I felt a strong inclination to print it; but, as it came to me at the same time with your No. 1, of the history of the Reformation, on reading that, I put aside this, and resolved upon a bit of war with you, on my own part; for I declare to you, that I have rejected many attacks upon you, signed with names, as well as anonymously, resolving, when I thought it proper to be done, to do it myself. The affair of Chili has induced me to draw forth this paper, and now to insert it. It is written by a man, who knows more of you, than any other man in England knows, and who, as a lover of liberty and all good to mankind, is excelled by no man.

December 4, 1824.

When Cobbett came from America, he said he wanted none for a friend, he was satisfied with his own family circle. He came home angry with all mankind, because they would not follow his trail, and, on all occasions, consent to do as he bid them, to lead him money, or to give him money, to forge bank-notes, taking the risk on themselves, and then submit to be jeered at by him. From that time, he has seized many opportunities to do the people all the injury he dare attempt, so as not to extinguish the sale of his register. Look at his precious article of to day on Police reports. He cites some cases, in which it is possible, but by no means certain, that individuals might be injured, and then he argues that there should be no reports of what passes at Police Offices. No-nor none of trials in any of the Courts- Except by authority of the Court. Cobbet never, in his life, even for a single moment, felt a desire to serve mankind, unless he saw how he himself was to profit by it. He has reason enough to wish that trials should not be reported; his trials are such as would make any man, who did not really hate his species, hate himself; and reasoning only to himself, he wishes trials should not be per-

mitted to be published. Now mark the consequence. If no one had dared to publish your trials, what, I ask, would have been the consequence. I defy any one to tell. Prynne had his ears cut twice, his nose split, and was confined in Guernsey. If the proceedings in the courts were confined to the courts, care would soon be taken, that no spectators should be in court. Trials would be just what they are in Hanover, where a written accusation, or so much as the tribunal chuses of an accusation, is given to a man in writing, and he must answer it in writing. He is not allowed to hear or see the proceeding or to know what has been deposed against him; but he is put in prison and detained or punished, just as the secret tribunal pleases. Many persons die in consequence of their confinement while the matter is pending-and most of these committed in pursuance of sentence die. As nobody knows why the persons are condemned, as no one dare remark on the circumstances of the unfortunate person, no notice is taken of the proceedings; the friends of the sufferer mourn his loss, their afflictions are confined to themselves nobody else cares any thing about the matter. To this state would Cobbett bring us. Publication during the state Trials in 1794 saved the men's lives, saved hundreds of others, and prevented a worse than Spanish Despotism. Cobbett would have us retrograde. He has written against school learning, against the press in all its forms, he would shut up the sources of knowledge, and put us back again to the 14th century, when ignorance, brutality and tyranny prevailed over all Europe.

Think of his abusing the reformation! The event of all others the most beneficial to mankind that ever occured. What is it to the purpose to say it was engendered in lust, by a beastly monster of a thing? are not all Kings, monsters? are not all Priests in power monsters? and will they not ever continue so? But if one of these monsters happen unintentionally, to do an act, which, in its consequences, benefits the people, is it less a benefit, because the monster did not intend it should be a benefit?

If there had been no reformation, Locke could not have proved that there were no innate ideas. It was this which led to, Helvetius, and D'Holback, and Voltaire; they all acknowledge it. It was Locke, who gave the impulse, and its consequences caused about all the good there is in the world. Among these consequences are the American United States. But for these Thomas Paine had never written; Benjamin Franklin, by far the wisest man the world ever produced, bad lived in vain. But for the reformation, however produced, all the world had been sunk in ignorance and barbarism. What Spain is, England would have been: what South America was, such would have been North America. Look to France even after the struggle which the Reformation and its consequences produced; look to Spain, to Italy to Austria; see the brutal ignorance that pervades these countries, and then bless the reformation.

But Ireland -Yes Ireland has been and is most cruelly treated, its treatment ought to be put an end to; but in Ireland, every person who dissents from the church has not been extirminated as, natives who differ from the church in Austria, Italy, Spain, and other places were. There has been no reformation in these countries, because the priests could put to death, all whom they suspected of heresy-even in Mexico, and Columbia no religion but the Catholic is tolerated, and any native would be put to death who should dare to avow himself a protestant. Even in Chili, christian burial is denied to heretics; and, in a case of a most exemplary English lady, who died in this country, the wretched catholics, whom she had cherished with her bounty, made an attempt to dig up the body from a grave twelve feet deep in her own garden, to insult the body of a heretic and thus to do honour to their holy religion! After the Earthquake in that country, the priests went about preaching in the streets, that it was a punishment from God, for their sins, in permitting heretics to come to and remain in the country. Had the number of Englishmen been less, had no ships, with sailors and cannon on board, been in the harbour not a heretic would have been left alive. This is the true spirit of the Christian religion in its worst form, that of Catholicism.

Catholicism compared with Protestantism is a darkness compared with light, and Protestantism with atheism as light in a cloudy day to bright sunshine. Catholicism would have none but brutes for subjects, and it is ever vigilant, Protestantism, split into a thousand sects, loses half its power and all its fanaticism. It cannot extinguish human knowledge; it cannot prevent its progress: all it can do, is to impede. Catholicism can and does obliterate it. Yet, Cobbett would persuade us, that the Reformation was and is an evil!

This paper was not written with any view to its being printed; nothing of that kind was expected by the writer: it was a private friendly communication upon public matters; written for my information. It has not been the cause of my attack upon you, or defence rather; for I have long resolved, not to take a blow quietly from you, if you ever made an attempt to strike. You have certainly been long wavering upon the subject, hardly knowing whether it would or would not be more profitable to attack or to side with me; but latterly, I had begun to entertain hopes, that you would advance and give me your all powerful assistance. But now, your history of the Reformation, according as your commencement, seems to shut out all possibility of your becoming a useful Antichristian writer.

I return to your book.

You begin paragraph 38, with saying, that, "The far greater part of those books, which are called 'Histories of England,' are little better than romances." And if you continue as you have begun, yours will not mend the matter. You have acted very foolishly, for your own credit or purpose, in taking any notice of Christianity before the period of its last introduction into this country by Saint Austin. Had you kept within that proper bound for your subject, you would have kept clear of all opposition to me; but, as you have thought proper to go back, where Even Eusebius said he could find no authorities, you merit, all the chastisement which I shall give you, and that, in the way of chastisement, will be an improvement upon whatever you have done with others.

At paragraph 40, you say, in spite of my last remonstrance, that, "The Catholic Church originated with Jesus Christ himself." Now, then, Mr. Cobbett, for your authoties? Who was Jesus Christ? How did he originate? Where did he live? Come, Sir, let us have no romance from you, give us your authorities. I have been searching for authorities on this subject for six years past, and can find none, so that, I am prepared to say, that there are none, that Jesus Christ are two titular words, describing no name of a person, and that no person of that name ever had existence. I cannot say, that you do read "The Republican;" but, I can scarcely doubt, that there, or elsewhere, you have seen the existence of Jesus Christ disputed, and, if so, pray, by what authority do you now assert his existence? Come, Sir, the welfare both of Catholic and Protestant People requires, that we should knock in the head all romancing historians; so, be you so good to shew us that you are not one, and that you do not deserve to be the first despatched.

If you can give us any authorities about what you have said of Jesus Christ, you will, of course, be able, to do the same, as to what is said of Peter. Like a true Roman Catholic, you have quoted Matthew, Chap. 16, verses 18 and 19, as a proof, that, the Church originated with, or was founded by, Peter; but, whatever sensible and just Englishman will take the pains to refer to that chapter, he will find it really contemptible. In the paragraph, from which you quote, it is fabled, that, Jesus Christ and Peter were exchanging compliments with each other, such as, "Thou art the Christ the son of the living God:" and "thou art Peter" &c. In the next paragraph, they are made to quarrel, and this Godson is made to call the favou-

rite Godman, or Churchman, the Devil! "Get thee behind me, Satan: thou art an offence unto me: for thou savourest not the things that be of God, but those that be of men." Now, which of the authorities will you accept, as to the worth of the Roman Catholic Church, the "Scripture" or the truth? If it were founded upon Peter, or by Peter, it

was also founded upon or by the Devil!

The truth is, that, in the fortieth and forty first paragraph, you have out done Southey, as a religious romancer. Were it not for the deadly hatred that exists between you Christians of different sects, and more particularly between such wavering, shuffling, dishonest, back and forward, characters, as you and Southey, you may well shake hands with him. You are, an equal credit to the Church, or to both Churches.

In paragraph 41, you tell us, that "SAINT PETER died a martyr at Rome in about sixty years after the birth of Christ." Again, I demand your authority. There is something like proof, that Saint Paul visited Rome, but not the least proof, not a mention, in any one of the canonical or apocryphal Gospels or Epistles, that Saint Peter was ever at Rome. Every mention of Peter in the New Testament leads us to the contrary inference. Your story has no foundation, but in the legends of the Roman Church. You say, "there is the most satisfactory evidence, that the chain of succession (from Peter as the first Pope) has remained unbroken from that day to this." You either can produce this satisfactory evidence, or you are a real Christian Romancer, a real son of the Roman Catholic Church. If you can produce this satisfactory evidence, I too will turn Roman Catholic. Give us but a reference to your authority.

After a due consultation with your old friend, the Lord of the Manor of Glastonbury, after consulting his archives, I shall expect to have a paragraph from you, about Joseph of Arimathea, his budding staff, and the Glastonbury Thorn! Perhaps, between you, for King Harry the Ninth is also a true son of the Church, you may be able to recover the real staff, as a relic; and, if so, it will keep well in the same coffin, or chest, that holds the bones of the insulted Thomas

Paine!

In paragraph 45, you tell us, that "our ancestors were PAGANS: they worshipped gods made with hands; and they sacrificed children on the altars of their idols." I admit the fact of what is called Paganism, which was wisdom

compared with Christianity; but, I call upon you for authorities, as to the fact of worshipping Gods made with hands, and sacrificing children on the altars of their idols. My reading of the ancient history of this Island has taught me nothing of this kind: and, I believe, that you will find it as difficult to prove, as the existence of a Jesus Christ.

I have not finished the review of your No. 2; but writing thus far, I receive your Register for the 8th Inst., in which, I see, the Morning Chronicle has been shewing you some errors on this No., which you notice and attempt to answer. You know well, that a newspaper Editor, dares not to question you fully upon this subject: you know, that his hands are tied; you will, therefore, do yourself more credit, to copy and answer my two letters; but whether you do or not, I will take care, that such a work as your History of the Reformation, shall yield you no fame. With this disposition, you may expect soon again to hear from me upon the subject.

RICHARD CARLILE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE REPUBLICAN.

SIR, December 23, 1824. I was much pleased, on reading your letter addressed to Mr. Cobbett (vol. 10, No. 24). He is loose and in error, in almost every instance, where he speaks of the rise and progress of Christianity; or on the authenticity of the books which compose the New Testament. However well he may understand the history of the "Reformation," it is evident, from what has appeared in the first number of the little work so entitled, that he is wading out of his depth, when he attempts to treat upon the history of Christianity, previous to that epoch. He does not seem to be aware of the existence of any other church, than that of Rome, before the Reformation; and I am heartily glad, that you, who have paid so much more attention to it, and so well understand this part of the subject, have engaged to watch over him as he proceeds. From Cobbett's well known talent and celebrity as a writer, he is calculated to do either much good, or much injury, with the subject, according to the turn he means to give it. For my part, I feel considerable jealousy of him, I suspect him, of not being candid enough to express his real sentiments on this occasion.

I believe Cobbett to be no more of a Christian than you or I, but, I expect, from what he has already written on the subject of Catholic emancipation, that he means to give such a colouring to

his sentiments, as to leave his readers to suppose, that, he is a friend to the establishment of Popery; when, in truth, he is, as I believe, writing his "History of the Reformation," more out of enmity to what he, in his "Register," calls the Fire Shovels, than from any real respect he has for the Catholics as a sect. As to all he says about their being most shamefully and cruelly ill-treated by the Protestants, it is no more than what you yourself have already noticed in the "Republican" (vol. 9, No. 20), and is what must be admitted by every one, who knows any thing of their case.

I agree with Cobbett, that, the Reformation has, in many cases, been of injury to the lower orders of society, and that, it has been one great cause of the sectarianism which now so generally prevails; but, I look up to this splitting up the minds of the people, as a preliminary, and a most powerful step, towards blowing up the whole system in the end.

Should the Catholics succeed in their present views, they will never stop there long: they will next want a share of the tithes and glebes; and I should like to see the Protestant dissenters of every sect, join the Catholics, in asserting their right to have a portion of the good things with the Fire Shovels. If they would but do this, it would throw such a terror upon the locusts, as they have not before experienced, since the days of the Reformation. There can be no doubt, that, the dissenters would count more than two to one against the established Church.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

I. G.

The following article should have appeared last week but was excluded with the article on the "Prospect of the Logos &c." for want of room.

NOTICE.

The Editor of the Dorset County Chronicle rejected my answer to his article, but, completely swallowed his first article, in an awkward apology. If any thing further passes on the subject, worthy of notice, it shall be copied into "The Republican" in succession; but the last piece of itself is not worth the space it will occupy; though avowedly an apology. I have cut a rod for his master Dr. Stoddart, which I shall use in the next No. The Doctor is frightened to find, that irreligion in spite of armies, police and absolute power, has found its way so extensively into the Austrian territories! Ah! to be sure Doctor! sentiment, or sense, has not to knock at a gate to gain admittance, nor

does it want a passport to travel with. The exclusion of Lord Holland and Lady Morgan from Austria was but a sorry means of excluding those partially liberal principles

which they advocate.

I shall whip well the Editor of the Dorset County Chronicle, in the course of a week or two at the farthest. He did not visit me, but has sent his Collector or Printer thrice. This is the basest Christian dog, that I have yet had to flog.

R. C.

THE FOLLOWING ARTICLE IS TAKEN FROM THE NEW TIMES' NEWSPAPER OF THE 30TH ULT.

THE Hesperus, a German Paper, contains the following extraordinary statement. In the University of Vienna there was lately a Professor of Philosophy named REMBOLD, who in his public lectures had the audacity to accuse OUR BLESSED Saviour of suicide! The Austrian Government could do no less than remove him from his Professorship: and in his place was appointed a M. MADE-LENEZ. On the day on which this latter was to deliver his first lecture, a crowd of young students, attached to REMBOLD, assembled with a determination of preventing the lecture from taking place. MADELENEZ did not appear: but in his stead came the Ecclesiastic State-Counsellor Porondra, who attempted, but in vain, to read a discourse. The riotous youths drowned his voice in continual hisses, clamour, and shouts of Rembold for ever! For two days this disturbance was repeated; on the third M. PORONDRA succeeded in delivering his lecture; but it was only by having taken the precaution to shut the doors of the lecture-room, and to exclude the most disorderly of the students. The Austrian Government has proceeded to most rigorous measures against the young Rioters; having seized the ring-leaders, and sentenced them to serve in the Army for life.

If this story be true, it presents a terrible picture of the progress of irreligion; whilst at the same time it affords a striking proof of the fatal effect of negligence in the choice of public instructors. As certainly as a teacher, in any seminary of learning, is irreligious or immoral, so certainly does irreligion or immorality prevail among the youth under his care; and the same may be said of factiousness and revolutionary doctrines. We doubt whether all the Universities of the British Empire stand perfectly clear on this latter point; but sure we are, that the

No 2, Vol. XI.

Atheism and Democracy of the Continent have been in a very great measure disseminated by Professors in the Universities there.

Certainly no public Lecturer in England would venture to go the length that Professor REMBOLD did; but we must remember, that in a lower station the same and still more horrid blasphemies are daily and publicly promulgated in the very heart of this We have lying before us "No. 24, Vol. 10, of The Republican, dated Dec. 17, 1824, and published by R. CARLILE, 84, Fleet Street"-every page of which is filled with the most insulting mockery, not only of the Established Religion, but of all religion whatever. The author is, indeed, in prison, but though this probably occasions the Government to abstain from prosecuting him, it does not in the slightest degree check the publication of fresh blasphemies on his part. It appears, too, that he is indulged with the liberty of receiving young persons as visitors in his confinement, for the express purpose of preaching Atheism to them; and he greatly exults at having made converts of "mere boys"!-It would too much shock our readers were we to repeat a hundredth part of of the blasphemies contained in the pages before us—they may be judged of from two short specimens "that the Bible is an infamous publication," and that "Atheism is the only source of Man's solid happiness." So long as any person can thus set common decency at defiance, so long will he find converts among the ignorant, and supporters among the base. The Austrian Government has a short way of dealing with the disciples of impiety: we rojoice that it is not in the power of our Government to exercise power in so despotic a manner; but that some legal mode ought to exist of stopping so deadly an evil, must be obvious to every reflecting mind.

TO JOHN STODDART, L. L. D. EDITOR OF THE "NEW TIMES."

DEAR DOCTOR,
You are a sad liar. You really verify all that I say about the vicious nature of the Christian Religion. And, I believe (not in God) but that you adhere to that religion, because it encourages emasculation and applauds an absence of virility in the more talkative part of the biped species of the mammalia class; because it is the religion of eunuchs, hermaphrodites, and impotent men and women. Now, say, truly, Doctor, if you can for once sacrifice false-hood at the shrine of truth, are not you a Doctor of the Canon

Law, do you not plead in the Ecclesiastical Courts, as the impo-

tent advocate of all impotent christian men and women?

I have seen your paper for the 30th of December, and it called to my recollection "the good old times" of 1819, when I was your neighbour, and when you were wont to send your Radical Collector to me daily, to know if I wanted a bit of notice from

you of any kind.

You cunning rogue, I see the object of your article of the 30th ult. it is to advertise my letter to Mr. Cobbet, which I assure you it has done. That letter would have been a grand bite for you, had it not been so devilishly antichristian*. As sure as you are not a man, Doctor, when you have a bite at me, you bite a new fill. I will cut out some rare work for you to work upon this year. You will have seen, by this time, that with his own words I have choked your Dorchester bantling, Higgs, the Editor of the Dorset

County Chronicle.

I do not, like Rembold, the Austrian Professor, say, that, Jesus Christ committed suicide; but, I say, and prove it Doctor, that, Jesus Christ is a fictious name, and that no such a person as your 'blessed saviour' ever had existence. I prove, that Christianity originated among the depraved part of the Grecian Pagans, that its origin was bacchanalian, and that, when it had exhibited the extreme of debauchery and filthiness of manners, when such vices were properly punished by the magistrate, some of the Apostles, by the way of a set off, found it necessary, to condemn those practices, and to commend that which you commend, impotence, emasculation and an abstinence from the gratification of every passion but that worst of passions, the fanaticism of idolatry. And what is more to your confusion, I find proofs of this statement in the New Testament, as powerful as those which can be elsewhere found. I prove, Doctor, that the Christian Religion is but 1724 years old, instead of 1824.

A civil word with you, Doctor? You have made a grand admission against yourself? You say: "but sure we are, that the Atheism and Democracy of the Continent have been in a very great

Since writing the above, I have seen, that you have had a nibble at the letter. You oil it, for the better swallowing by your readers, in calling me a reprobate. Can you call me a liar? Can you say that I am dishonest as a public writer? Have you ever seen me truckling to any thing base for mere pecuniary gain? I have seen all this in you, and retort, that you are the greater, the real reprobate. What can you reprobate fairly in my conduct? You look upon my letter to Cobbett as an experienced mouse looks on a piece of cheese or bacon in a trap. You would paw or nibble it through the wires; but dare not go in; because then down would come the Antichristian trap upon your readers. Had not that letter cut both ways, deeply at Christianity, as well as at Cobbett, it would have figured in your columns. Why not be honest, Doctor?

measure disseminated by the Professors in the Universities there." Thank you, Doctor, for that grand admission; for that one slip of truth from your pen! You know very well, that the Professors in the Universities on the Continent are the most wise, the most learned men there. Now, if these most wise and most learned men are the advocates of Atheism and Democracy—what is the inference? Is it not, that Atheism and Democracy are better founded, more useful as principles to a people, than religion and Monarchy? Is not that inference correct, Doctor? That slip of your pen is worth a whole edition of Paine's "Age of Reason"! So powerful is truth!

You say again: "We doubt whether all the Universities of the British Empire stand perfectly clear on this point." So doubt I, or rather doubt not. It is well known, that Cambridge has turned out a succession of Atheists for a century past: and as to the Edinburgh University, or College, or whatever it might be called, it has been long admitted to be a regular school for atheism, in which atheistical debates are regularly carried on.

You say: "Certainly, no public Lecturer in England would venture to go the length that Professor Rembold did." Have you forgotten what lately happened with Mr. Lawrence? He went further than Rembold: he went fairly into Materialism which leaves you not a particle of a Trinity! The Unitarians lecture in a very free manner about Jesus Christ. Russel Scott of Portsea denies the existence or personification of a Devil, and speaks of "this Carpenter's Son" with a very little respect, in his lectures. This is the case with many other Unitarians. This sect spreads widely in this country. I am told, that every member of the Corporation of Bridport is Unitarian. They outnumber the Methodists in this neighbourhood.

The Lecturers of this country do not talk about the suicide of Jesus Christ, they know better, most of them know, that the whole story of such a person is a fiction, and many of them know, that the tale is but a version of the Old Grecian tale of Reason or the Logos persecuted by Force and Strength: crucified by or between two thieves: an exemplification of which has been found in this country, in having its honesty and its welfare persecuted and sacrificed by Whig and Tory Parties. The reality of the picture has almost every where existed among mankind: for manking have been every where elike

mankind; for mankind have been every where alike.

A "terrible picture," is it not, Doctor? a terrible picture, truly!

For, very soon, you will find, that your cause will not support your paper! I will tell you, as I told Higgs of Dorchester, that, to support your paper much longer, you must follow me. And really Doctor, though I am not ashamed of such "mere boys," when compared with your Parson Parsons of Sherborne, and the newly married Vicar of Cerne, as are Richard Hassell and John Vicary,

I do not think, that I shall be willing to accept you as a follower. I shall be ashamed of you; for though you are bold with your pen, like Saint Paul, a personal interview proves your person base and speech contemptible, like him also, and a bold opponent would frighten you to death by a personal interview. Now I and my "mere boys" can manfully face the most impudent of Parsons. Ah! and make them look like simpletons too! You must improve

for me to accept you as a follower.

I began with calling you a sad liar, and must end with the why and wherefore. You have said, that were you to repeat a hundredth part of the blasphemies contained in my No. 24, Vol. 10, it would too much shock your readers,, and directly, you quote all that is in it that can shock a christian; for with the exception of those two excellent truths which you have quoted, the number is very mild and inoffensive even to Christians. But if I call you a liar, Doctor, it is in a friendly way. I know that you were anxious to advertise the wholesome truths in that No. and that you have done it in the best possible manner, of which my list of sale has daily informed me. So I am your friend for a future good turn.

RICHARD CARLILE.

NOTICE, TO READERS OF ANTI-CHRISTIAN BOOKS.

As I have a large stock of books, and am anxious to encourage their circulation in every possible way, for the double end of self and principles, and as many others, like me, have large stocks in trade, and but little cash at command, I will barter my books for any articles that are useful to a family. Any useful article bought or sent to my shop at a fair stated value, with a note specifying the book or books on my catalogue desired in return, of equal value shall be strictly complied with.

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R. C.

PROSPECTS OF THE LOGOS, AT THE COM-MENCEMENT OF THE YEAR 1825.

THE Christians have long cheated us, as to the meaning of the Greek word Logos, and, from the time, that the Gospel according to Saint John was written, they have made it to represent their second person in the Trinity. They shall keep it no longer. What will my christian and antichristian readers say, when I inform them, that, the Logos of Saint John, did not exactly express the Goddess of Reason, which the French Atheists set up, as an idol during their revolution; but it exactly expresses, what we now understand by the words God of Reason. Saint John meant it to express a personification and deification of the principle of reason or human intellect; and had it been so translated in the English New Testament, as it should have been, it would have been a proper key to the whole fable about Jesus Christ, and a proof that the writer of that Gospel had no personal knowledge of the person of Jesus Christ. This fact, too, mind you, removes another main prop on which Christianism is founded; for it is said, that the writer of this Gospel was the favourite disciple of Jesus, and, as a Gospel writer, or a writer of the life of Jesus, a chief evidence as to the matters there narrated. translation of the Gospel is a full proof, that, the writer was not an evidence of the reality of any such matters. The Logos, strictly speaking, is the God of the Atheists! or such of them, as want some nonsense of that kind wherewith to amuse themselves. Plato and Saint John, or the writer of the Gospel under that name, were too weak-minded atheists, who deified the principle of reason and amused themselves with reveries about dwelling with it in a state of immortality: which is as much as to say, that they thought, that, the portion of reason which they possessed would be immortal and ever exist as part of the aggregate. Removing all idea of the personification, they were correct, so far as they taught any thing useful, and, whilst any portion of mankind continues to derive advantage from that teaching.

The translation of Logos into the Latin verbum and English word was truly Boetian, truly stupid. It was the most degrading, the most profane, the most blasphemous translation, that the Greek admitted, for such an idea as Plato and Saint John had associated with the word. When a boy, I have pondered over the stupidity about God being a Word, and a Word being God, and, it was not until I began, within a few weeks past, to study the Greek Language, that, I had an idea of the correct meaning

of Logos.

Now, Atheists, the Logos is our God! if you like an idol of any kind: the Christians shall no longer disgrace the God of Reason, whilst they give the very principle of reason to the Devil. They pervert every thing that is good, and truly turn the

world upside down.

The Logos being the God of Reason, the God of Know-Ledge, I have used it, in my text, to express all the good that is now progressing among mankind; to express the God of Athe-ISM, or what the Christians call atheism, the God of Republicanism, the God of Liberty, of Knowledge, of Popular opposed to individual Power; the God of the many against the wickedness and tyranny of the few. I wish not to deceive, and, with such an explanation, I hope, that, I shall rather enlighten, than darken the minds of my readers, rather remove the evil from this sanctum sanctorum, than eclipse the glories of the Logos!

This word Logos, is also a further correction of the story of Jesus Christ with that older story of PROMETHEUS. The word PROMETHEUS also expresses the WORD OF GOD, or the GOD OF REASON, and the key to the allegory of both stories is, that, wherever reason has made its first appearance among mankind, the two thieves, force and strength, have been instantly arrayed against it, to seek its destruction! Here the origin of such a

moral tale is clear.

I will lay it down as a correct political principle, that, all mere exchanges of tyranny, all knocking down of one kind to set up another kind of tyranny, do more harm than good to the mass of mankind, and, that, there can be no really beneficial change to that mass, but in their general acquisition of knowledge, and in a re-modelling of public institutions, by the force of public opinion emanating therefrom. This is bringing the power of the Logos to bear upon the right point.

Under this view of politics, England may be said to be the only country where the Logos is working to a good effect; and, its inspirations and operations are more particularly confined to those persons who are suffering for, or calling for, free discussion, who dash at all established opinions without ceremony, and who neither

treat with nor give quarter to tyranny of any kind.

Amidst the mass of evil and ill-founded opinions which even now infest mankind, and even the people of this Island, every effort to remove a part of it produces confusion; but that removal is not a pulling down of a goodly structure; but, a removal of obstacles that enables a beautiful plant to shoot forth and exhibit itself. Man, free from vice and ill-founded opinions, is a beautiful creature to his own contemplation; but when degraded by vices and obscured with ill-founded notions, he knows none of the moral purposes, feels none of the pleasures, of life. He is, in truth, but one of many ravenous wild beasts. So that, the end

of all political rectitude will be to remove the vices and ill founded opinions which degrade and give pain to the mass of mankind.

This, my friends, I hope, I may say, that we are doing. I will go further, and say, that whilst so much vice, and so many illfounded opinions exist, no printed matter is worth a reading, that does not operate to this all important end. Put every public writer to this test, and you will see clearly, who or what is, and who or what is not, worthy of your notice. And not only public writers; you may wisely apply the same test to every politician

and public man.

As to our particular progress upon the question of free discussion, it is clear that we have triumphed. We have it in practice, though surrounded with penalties. We prefer to suffer the penalties, rather than not to have it; but this is only the disposition of a few: we must persevere to the removal of the penalties, and leave all free to discuss what subjects all or each may desire. I hear, that, there is a general surfeit among the men in power and the parsons, as to further open persecutions for the publication of antichristian sentiments, and, as that general surfeit has been brought about by our past perseverance, so, out of that surfeit, we must educe the removal of pains and penalties, by our similar perseverance for the future. I hear, that the ministers are sick of keeping me in prison; but know not by what excuse to let me out. The only excuse that will serve them, or bring them any thing short of pain, will be, to admit, at once, that, for which, we, their opponents, are contending, the propriety of free discussion upon all subjects. When they do this, we shall cease to be their opponents, and all future changes in this country will be the sole work of public opinion, and not of violence, or of prejudice, or passion of any kind. Political rectitude will then, for the first known time, begin to be predominant.

In America, the arms, the physical force of Republicanism against Monarchy is every where victorious: and, in this matter, the political prophecies of Mr. Cobbett will turn out much more to the public amusement than to its instruction. But, though the arms, though the physical force of Republicanism may triumph, it will require the moral labour of a century to establish free discussion on any part of that continent, or to bring the people of any district to the same amount of useful discussion as we are now carrying on in this country. The power of the priests is yet direful throughout South America and little less so throughout North America. The power of priestcraft is the master evil of which mankind should first seek to divest themselves: and this divestment is the most easily attained of all; because every man

can do it for himself.

The clamour of the Roman Catholics of this and the neighbouring Island will end in clamour just as did the clamour about Radical Reform from 1817 to 1820. The clamour indicates no good or great object: it is a private sectarian matter; therefore I would not have you to be deceived, in filling yourself with great expectations from it. If the Catholics can divest themselves of Protestant Church influence, I shall, for one, be glad, and will assist them in it; but not a step further will I aid them. All beyond that point would be public mischief. Of all priesthoods, that of the Catholics certainly is and has been the worst, and, with the same degree of power, will again be what it has been. Our duty is to assist the Catholic to pull down Protestant, and, when down not to allow the Catholic to fill the place of the Protestant.

REPUBLICANS, MATERIALISTS, ATHEISTS, ADHERENTS TO THE LOGOS, all, our prospects are decidedly good, and sure at every point of expectation. We stand on no ground from which our enemies can remove us, we adhere to no principles which they can destroy. In search of nothing but truth, aiming at nothing but increased human happiness, we insure over triumph by

the soundness and goodness of our purpose.

RICHARD CARLILE.

Dorchester Gaol, Jan. 1, 1825.

TO ALLEN DAVENPORT.

If I know any thing of the general disposition of the readers of "The Republican," it is, that they do not want more last words about "Agrarian Equality." However awkward, it may seem, to reject an article, that comes in the shape of criticism upon my own notes, I shall do it in this case, as the subject was closed, to a general satisfaction, I beleive, with the last insertion. I have since discouraged one article upon the subject, and Mr. Penny's letter was not written to revive it. It is a subject, that is not fitted for discussion; no one disputes its worth, as far as it can be carried, when practicable: therefore, it is idle to cavil upon its promulgation at this time; when it is so far from being practicable. If a man has an old house, and is willing to take it down at once, it would be wise to lay the plan of another to be raised upon the same ground; but, if the house were likely to outstand him, it would not be wise for him to bother his head about plans for a new structure which his more enlightened posterity may reject. Our duty is, as to government, in this country, at present, I take to be, to employ ourselves in undermining the hideous structure

now existing: and the moment we have accomplished this first necessary object, then, to begin to discuss the best plan for the new structure. To be quarrelling about the new plan, and to leave the old rubbish to remove itself, is not wisdom in my judgment. The ability necessary to remove the old structure, will, certainly in this country, be equal to the establishment of the best; if not, at once, a representative legislature will effect it as it proceeds. A fig for that man, who wastes his time about plans for the future, and will not work to clear the ground for a new foundation. It is a correct maxim in politics, that, if you remove what is evil, the good presents itself: like commerce, it flourishes best, when unincumbered with plans and shackles. In a country tranquil in itself, and not menaced by its neighbours, I incline to think, that, the less of policy would be the best policy. What was essentially necessary would soon present itself. The general aim of existing policy is revenue, to extract the greatest amount of the profits of the industrious for the use of the idle. Rob not the industrious; but leave them to protect each other; and but little of government will be necessary. Mr. D. will find his MS. at 84, Fleet Street, if that old structure be allowed to stand by the Saints much longer.

R. CARLILE.

TO MR. R. CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

INTREPID CITIZEN, Christian Era.

It is with pleasure we transmit to you the inclosed sum of £2. 8s. The amount is by no means equal to our wishes, nor indeed what might be reasonably expected from so large a place as this, but when we consider the difficulty, with which your publications are procured in this part of the Island, (a difficulty which, in the case of any publications, except your own, would amount to a prohibition,) we have great reason to be satisfied. Your friends, all disadvantages considered, are encreasing beyond our expectation, and it is a fact, tho' I believe not a singular one, that some of the individuals who were most active in getting up this subscription, were not three years ago, your most bitter enemies.

We cannot but mourn over that state of things, which subjects to such great pains and penalties, the noblest individuals of our species; for, in all ages, they have invariably been men of the greatest worth, who have commenced the reformation of long

standing abuses; yet, it is evident that your suffering, will accelerate the advancement of the human race, more than any other course would have done. It appears, that your persecution, was wanting, to complete the character of that kind of christianity, which predominates in this country. The Protestants blame the Papists, for being persecutors of all who differ from them, and with too much reason; but it has been the fashion for centuries past, for Protestants to laud the mild unpersecuting character of their adherents. This mild disposition, however, continued only so long as they were opposed by fanatics, of a more contemptible order than themselves, at whom they could laugh; and when men can laugh, they never think of fining and imprisoning; but now that they are opposed by the sons of reason and philosophy, who have fearlessly lifted the veil, and shown the monster in all its deformity, they have proved to the world, what has been long known, that all religionists, of whatever sect or denomination they may be, are persecutors of those, possessing a higher degree of knowledge, than themselves.

Loften think with shame on the disgrace entailed on my country, by the adoption of the superstitions of an illiterate horde of barbarous Asiatics. The incalculable loss sustained by the human race, in the extinction of literature, science, and civilization, was not so visible in the case of our ancestors, as in that of the Greeks and Romans Christianity found our ancestors plunged in the depths of ignorance and barbarism, and its policy unfortunately, was to keep them so, which it, did, for the space of a thousand

vears.

With Greece and Rome, the case was widely different, the knowledge of all that can exalt and adorn the human character, was well known to many of them; but no sooner did the superstitions of the Jews and Jew christians, become general amongst them, than their Heroism was changed into fanaticism, and their philosophy into the most profound ignorance. This state of things continued until some happy Genius, a Saviour of his race appeared, and discovered the invincible Printing Press, which no sooner commenced its operations, than the dark clouds of ignorance and superstition began to dispel. All those collections of insane ravings, yelept "words of God," which are known in the world, have all the same tendency. If the nations which adopt them are in a half civilized state, they remain stationary; if they are civilized, they retrograde; for, no truly religious nation, with an establishment of Priests among them, would wish more than the "word of God" taught them; and it is a fact, that no word of God, ever taught man one useful arts or science, or one piece of useful knowledge. Indeed it is hard to conceive any thing more detrimental to the progress of civilization, than a deified old book set up, as a barrier, beyond which, we cannot pass, without

subjecting ourselves to persecution. It is evident, that society, if not retarded, must be continually advancing in knowledge, consequently, the best book, that ever was written, must, in the natural course of events, become antiquated, and erroneous in many points. Hence no Book that ever was, or can be written, is calculated to be a standard of faith, manners and morality to mankind. Those musty Deities in the Jew Books, have waged war, for these eigteen hundred years past, with the philosophers of Europe, and it is a fact disgraceful to human nature, but no less true, that scarcely one useful invention, or one great discovery, has been made, during the first Fifteen Centuries of the reign of the said Deities, but has subjected the unfortunate discoverer, or inventor, to the most cruel persecution. As deplorable instances of the truth, of what I have said, take the names of Galileo and Law-That religion is a species of insanity, is beyond a doubt, for beyond the understanding, faith cannot go,-we understand nothing of spirit, consequently if we think we do, it cannot be a belief founded in knowledge; it must then be a belief, in a phantom of the imagination. Insanity may be defined, a belief in the real existence of the phantoms of the imagination; as some insane persons believe themselves to be the Great Mogul, or Cham of Tartary. To accuse a whole world of insanity, may appear somewhat strange; but the strangeness will cease, when we consider, that almost all mankind, are only nominally what they profess to be, having actually no belief about religion. Now and then, indeed, a true believer, does appear, and is invariably accounted insane. Such were Emanuel Swedenborg, Richard Brothers, Johanna Southcote, and several others. It is true, the first and the last of these personages, had a little tincture of knavery in their composition; but insanity was the most prevalent ingredient.

We have perused with great pleasure, the discussion betwixt the Unitarian Priest, and our Friend the Doctor; we are always happy to see any thing from his pen;—He may be assured, that the more he uses it, the greater will be the obligations of his distant friends.

Intending soon to communicate with you again, I must conclude, but not before I bear testimony, to my feelings, and those of the other subscribers, towards your Gallant Coadjutors, who have so nobly thrusted themselves into the breach to stem the torrent of mad intolerance. They have erected to themselves a lasting monument in their admirable defences, and have entailed on us, a debt of gratitude.—Wishing them, and you, the calm satisfaction of honest men, I conclude Remaining, Intrepid Citizen, Your Friend, on behalf of the Subscribers,

DAVID HENRY.

An Appeal to the Friends of Civil and Religious Liberty in Dundee.

The great principles of Liberty and oppression, almost in every age, have kept up a continual warfare, and on their respective progress, the fate of the human race has been fixed in misery or happiness. The page of history for the past, as well as for the present, sets forth the awful consequences of the success of despotism over the rights and privileges of mankind, by plunging them in the depths of misery, superstition and ignorance. They who are firm and determined in defending and asserting their opinions very often fall a sacrifice at the shrine of proud ambition. On the other hand, the enlightened philanthropist will shed a tear, and feel for those who have suffered under dire oppression.

It must be reasonable to every thinking mind, that all persons should enjoy their principles, so far as agreeable to the rules of morality, without any molestation, therefore an Appeal, is made to you, to say, if it is the case, in our "happy Island," so often styled the wonder, and admiration of surrounding nations. In our day, we see the Bold and Intrepid R. Carlile, in a dungeon, for years, beyond all common imprisonments, for advocating principles, contrary to those of the general part of his countrymen; and for supporting free Discussion and the Liberty of the Printing Press, which are essential to scientific researches, and to the improvement and happiness of mankind. We, the friends of civil and religious liberty, ought to assist, as far as in our power, any individual, who may suffer for conscience sake, however widely he may differ from us, knowing, that he ought not to suffer persecution, because his belief does not exactly correspond with ours. Such is the situation of R. Carlile, who, though under persecution, a man of such strict morality, that his very enemies dare not impeach him. He hath already, for conscience sake, endured upwards of Five years imprisonment, robbed of the means to pay his enormous fines, and shut up from his Wife and Family and all that are dear to him! Under such circumstances, let us as friends to the cause, of the persecuted, bestow a small support, in order to ameliorate his condition, and those of his shopmen, who have shared the same fate. By so doing, we will show a lasting respect for the martyrs of civil and religious liberty.

James Peacock, a friend to			W. S.	1	0
civil and religious liberty	1	0	D.	1	0
James Galloway, shoe maker	1	0	I. L.	0	6
William Tosh	1	6	A hater of persecution	0	6
A. Jeffrey, one who believes			G. C.	2	6
that enthusiasm has done			A. S.	0	3
more harm to Christ's cause			P.D.	1	6
than all the Bolingbrokes,			David Scott, one who says		
Paines, or Carliles, that			that Thomas Paine's writ-		
ever existed	2	0	ings ought to be read by		
One who knows by experi-	17		every man	1	6
ence that to be a good		pes	Ret. Reid, one who wishes		
Methodist one must be a			that if there is a Devil, he		
hypocrite	0	6	may at least have all hy-		
I. W.	0	6	pocrites	0	3
A bigoted Christian	0	6	William Low, a young friend	1	0
A liberal Christian	0	6	A convert to the faith of Mr.		
An advocate for Christianity	1	0	Carlile	1	0
W. L., a friend to liberal prin-	-		W. K., a believer in one God		
ciples	0	6	only	1	(
An enemy to king and priestly	-		W. Gray, one who considers	•	
tyranny ,	0	6	Green-field church more		,
Thomas Gilbert	1	0			
An admirer of Carlile's con-		0	sacred than many temples made with hands	0	6
The state of the s	1	0	The state of the s	U	,
A S one who believes that		0	R. S., who believes that the		
A. S., one who believes that			Priests of Jesus and their		
Malthus has spread a new			temples must follow the	0	
light upon the principles		•	fate of Theseus Jupiter	0	(
of political economy	1	0	I. B., I have dispensed with		
D. Henderson, a worshipper			the word Jesus as it has		
in the Temple of Reason,			no meaning, and with re-		
who wishes its votaries to			gard to the Devil I laugh it		
support those who are per-	-		to scorn; but with regard		
secuted by the spirit of in-			to the word God I know		'n
tolerance	1	0	not what to make of it. I		
A Unitarian	1	0	wish that Mr. Carlile and		
D. L., a Methodist, but a			his able correspondents		
hater of Mr. Westley's			would help me out of the		
plan of church govern-	do		dilemma	2	
ment	0	3	Alexander Jaylory	3	- 1
A. Wright, one who sees			James Alexander, never will		
there would be few priests			I forget Mr. Richard Car-		
were there no loaves and			lile and his bold intelligent		
fishes	0	6	but persecuted shopmen,		
A Shopkeeper	1	0	I will only cease to sup-		
James Brown, a friend to li-	RO.	101	port them when they cease	S.	
beral principles	1	0	to suffer—or I to live	1	
Andrew Ramsay	1	0	W. M., who is astonished		
James Finlay	0	6	and delighted with the de-		
An old friend	2	6	fences of Mr. Carlile's		
N. B.	1	0	Shopmen - behold what		
A friend to moderate reform	2	0	boldness-what penetra-		
A. S. W. Thomson	1	0	tion-what argumentation		
** · I nomson	1	0	-what deep reflection-in		

fine, their fame will last			Paine falls on the 29th of		
like the pyramids of Egypt	1	0	January	0	6
A. L., a friend to the Rights			A lover of the fair sex, but no	mui	
of Man	-	0	friend to the Bishop of Clogher	1	0
I. Thoms, an admirer of		0	Robert Smith, a lover of Jus-	-	U
Paine's Political Works D. S., warns all Republicans	2	U	tice, but a hater of Law-		
that the birth of Thomas	,		yers	5	0

TO MR. DAVID HENRY, DUNDEE.

Dorchester Gaol, January 5, 1825 of the Religion of Darkness.

The only religion of light was the Persian Worship of the Sun or Fire. In that religion, there was something rational, or nothing very irrational; though, as far as it was carried, it was a waste of time. Christianity, though it originated in a version of the Grecian Tale about the persecution of Reason or the Logos, has truly been, as you observe, the religion of darkness. It has been the eclipse of Europe for at least a thousand years, and its intellect, as well as its evil spirit, has been bound down for that time. Be it our task to break the chains that bind it, and should the Christian's Devil break loose at the same time, he cannot do more mischief than they have done during that species of his imprisonment which has given him ubiquity! We cannot discourse of

Christianity without dealing in contradictions.

When, my friend, the Doctor, left Dundee, I was fearful, that he would not leave much of his spirit behind him; but this communication has agreeably surprised me; and I now see, that good sense is prolific in the remote parts of Scotland, as well as in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and England generally. I am sensible of the difficulties felt to obtain my publications. I know that but few booksellers in the country dare to order them; but this, in the aggregate, does but increase the appetite for them. There is always one direct channel open—the post office; or, where Coaches run—a coach office. Every letter on business, that comes to me in this Gaol, or to my house in London, has immediate attention; and those profits, which, otherwise, would go into the pockets of the bookseller as an agent, are here applied to pay the additional expence of direct conveyance. The difference is only, that the Revenue and Coach Proprietors get the profit, instead of the timid and silly bookseller.

I thank you for this subscription, and feel great pleasure to think, that, it originated with those who were lately my enemies. I hope to convert all my enemies into friends; all honourable enemies, I mean; there are some, my Gaoler and the Visiting Magistrates of this Gaol, for instance, for whom, under all circumstances, I shall ever feel the most hearty contempt. With baseminded men I will never associate; but I am always ready to hold out the hand of fellowship and friendship to every honourable man, whatever may be his opinions, or station in life.

I think, our friend, the Doctor, has honoured Dundee, by driving one Priest out of it to seek a more honourable living. If a few more of you, could do the same with the Priests that remain, your town would certainly contain the happiest body of people in

the Island.

One of the subscribers wishes me to remove from his mind, the dilemma in which he feels himself about the word God. "The Republican" is certainly equal to this, if he be a constant reader; if not yet, it shall be; but he is advised to ask himself a few honest questions, and the same of all the Priests in his neighbourhood, as to what is known about the word God—to what thing the word refers. If he finds, that he knows nothing, and that the Priest knows nothing, he will remove the dilemma by not thinking about the word. There is not another word in our language, for which I have a greater contempt, than for the word God, knowing that it refers to nothing, but that, as a word, it brings much evil among mankind.

Another subscriber is anxious that we should not forget the approach of Paine's Birth day. No, not, this shall not be forgotten; though, I fear, that, in London, the time has not arrived, to form one great assemby to celebrate it. As was the case last year, for want of a proper room, and proper persons to lead as stewards, the day is likely to be celebrated by numerous small parties, instead of one large one. But few of our tradesmen, or public men, are so independent, and bold, as to come fairly before the public

on this head.

1 am, Citizen, your plodding and persevering "Press Man."
RICHARD CARLILE.

the augregated does but increase the appetite for theur. There !!

classes one direct changel up a the post offer; or, where . Conches run-a goald chace. Every letter on business, that

comes to me in this Gaol, or to my hours in house in house.

distantion; and those profits, which otherwise, would go inby the populate of the bookseller as an erebt, are been applied to by the additional expense of direct conveyance. The difference

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